THE
Bishop of Lincoln's
AND
Bishop of Norwich's
SPEECHES
IN THE
HOUSE of LORDS,
March the 17th.

AT THE

Opening of the *Second Article* of the Impeachment against Dr. *Sacheverell.*

B.N.C.
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MY LORDS,

IT was the Misfortune of some of our Bench, that in the Prosecution of the foregoing *Article* of this *Impeachment*, a Noble *Lord*, who spoke very early to that *Point*, was pleased not only to Anticipate our Judgment in that Particular; but to do it with this pretty Hard Reflection, That in giving it, as He suppos'd we Would, We should *Vote contrary to our own Doctrine*. It is not improbable but that, in the Course of the present Debate, another *Arrow* may be drawn out of the same * *Quiver* to shoot at us; and we may be told, that in defending of the † *Toleration granted by Law to the Dissenters*, we shew our selves to be *Apostates from our Own Order*. But from both these Imputations I am perswaded both our *Writings*, and our *Actions*, will secure Us in the Judgment of all indifferent Persons.

The Substance of this *Second Article* of the *Impeachment*, which your Lordships are now about to enter upon, is this: "*That Dr.* S. *in his Sermon, doth suggest and maintain*, that the "Toleration, *granted by Law, is* Unreasonable, *and the* Allowance *of it* Unwarrantable. *That* "*He is a* False-brother *with Relation to* God, Religion, *or the* Church, *who defends* Toleration, *and* "Liberty of Conscience. *That Q.* Elizabeth *was deluded by Archbishop* Grindal *to the* Tolera-"tion *of the* Genevian Discipline: *And that it is the Duty of* Superior Pastors *to thunder out their* "Ecclesiastical Anathema's *against Persons entituled to the Benefit of the* Toleration; *and insolently* "*dares, or defies, any* Power on Earth *to* Reverse *such* Sentences." This, *my Lords*, is the sum of this part of the *Commons* Charge *against Dr.* S. and I think the *Managers* have fully made it out; not by *bare Intendments*, by *unnecessary Implications*, and *forced Constructions*; not by *piecing together broken Sentences*, and *Conjoining of distant*, and *independent Passages* (as he has unjustly Complain'd;) but by the plain words, and necessary meaning, of a very great Part of his *Discourse*.

But before I trouble your *Lordships* with the Proof of this, give me leave, upon this Occasion, (tho' it be no part of the *Impeachment* laid against the *Preacher*) to observe to your *Lordships* what a strange Account he has thought fit to publish of that other *popular Engine*, which, he says, has been made use of * *to pull down the Church*, and which he calls by the Name of *Comprehension*.

The *Person* who first concerted this supposed *Design against our Church*, was the late most Reverend Dr. *Sancroft*, then *Archbishop of Canterbury*. The *time*, was towards the End of that unhappy *Reign*, of which so much was said upon the Occasion of the *foregoing Article*. Then, when we were in the heighth of our Labours, defending the *Church* of *England* against the *Assaults* of *Popery*, and thought of nothing else; that Wise *Prelate* foreseeing some such *Revolution* as soon after was happily brought about; began to consider how utterly unprepared they had been at the *Restoration* of King *Charles* the IId to settle many things to the Advantage of the *Church*; and what a happy Opportunity had been lost for want of such a previous Care, as he was therefore desirous should now be taken, for the better and more perfect Establishment of it. It was visible to all the Nation, that the more *moderate Dissenters* were generally so

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* See Dr. *S.*'s Answer to the 1st Article of Impeachment. His Speech, Fol. Pag. 23.
† Dr. *S.*'s Serm. at St. *Paul's*, Pag. 8.
* Serm. Pag. 16, 17.

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well ſatisfied with that Stand which our *Divines* had made againſt *Popery*, and the many Unanſwerable *Treatiſes* they had publiſh'd in Confutation of it, as to expreſs an unuſual Readineſs to come in to us. And it was therefore thought worth the while, when they were deliberating about thoſe other Matters, to conſider at the ſame time what might be done to *Gain Them*, without doing any *Prejudice* to *Our ſelves*.

The *Scheme* was laid out, and the ſeveral Parts of it were committed, not only with the *Approbation*, but by the *Direction* of that *Great Prelate*, to ſuch of our *Divines* as were thought the moſt proper to be intruſted with it. His *Grace* took one *Part* to *Himſelf*: Another was committed to a then Pious and Reverend * *Dean*, afterwards a *Biſhop*, of our Church. The reviewing of the *Daily Service* of our *Liturgy*, and the *Communion book*, was referr'd to a Select Number of excellent Perſons, † two of which are at this time upon our Bench; and I am ſure will bear Witneſs to the truth of my Relation. The Deſign was, in ſhort, this: To *improve*, and, if poſſible, to *inforce* our *Diſcipline*; to *Review*, and *Enlarge* our *Liturgie*; by *Correcting* of *ſome things*, by *Adding* of *others*; and, if it ſhould be thought adviſable by Authority, when this matter ſhould come to be legally conſider'd, firſt in *Convocation*, then in *Parliament*; by leaving ſome few *Ceremonies*, confeſs'd to be *Indifferent* in their *Natures*, as *Indifferent* in *their Uſage*, ſo as not to be neceſſarily Obſerved by Thoſe who made a *Scruple* of them; 'till they ſhould be able to Overcome either their Weakneſſes, or Prejudices, and be willing to comply with Them.

How far this good *Deſign* was not only known to, but approved of by, the Other *Fathers* of our *Church*; that famous *Petition* for which Seven of them were ſent to the *Tower*, and which contributed ſo much to our *Deliverance*, may ſuffice to ſhew. The "*Willingneſs* they there de-
"clared *of coming to ſuch a Temper* as ſhould be thought fit with the *Diſſenters*, when that
"Matter ſhould be *Conſider'd*, and *Settled*, in *Parliament* and *Convocation*"; manifeſtly referr'd to what was then known to *Several*, if not *All* of the *Subſcribers*, to have been at that very time under Deliberation. And that nothing more was intended than I have before ſaid, is as evident from what was publickly declared in a *Treatiſe* purpoſely written to recommend the *Deſign* when it was brought before the two *Houſes* of *Parliament*, in the beginning of the *late Reign*; and *Licenſed* by the *Authority* of a *Noble Peer*, now preſent, who was at that time *Secretary of State*: In the very beginning of which there is this remarkable Paſſage, which I ſhall beg Leave to read to your *Lordſhips*: * "*No Alteration, that I know of, is intended but*
"*in* things *declared to be* Alterable *by the* Church *its ſelf. And if* things Alterable *be* Altered
"*upon the Grounds of Prudence and Charity*; *and* Things defective *be* ſupplied; *and* Things Abu-
"ſed *be* Reſtored *to their* proper Uſe; *and* Things *of a more* Ordinary Compoſition, Reviſed
"*and* Improved; *whilſt the* DOCTRINE, GOVERNMENT, *and* WORSHIP *of the* Church
"*remain* Intire, *in* ALL *the* Subſtantial Parts *of Them*; *We have all reaſon to believe that this will*
"*be ſo far from* Injuring the Church, *that, on the contrary, it ſhall receive a very great* Bene-
"fit *by it*".

And now, *my Lords*, let any impartial Perſon Conſider, what was there in ſuch a *Deſign* that could be juſtly eſteem'd prejudicial to the *Conſtitution of our Church*? Wherein would our *Canons* have ſuffer'd, if Thoſe already made, had been more *ſtrongly Enforced*; and ſome *New Ones* had been *Added*, for the *Reformation of Manners*; for the better *puniſhing* of *Notorious Offenders*; and to render our *Publick Diſcipline* more ſtrict, and ſevere? This we have been Wiſhing for, ever ſince the *Reformation*: What Harm would it have done our *Church* had it now been Effected? Or how would our excellent Liturgy have been the worſe, if a few more *doubtful Expreſſions* had been *Changed* for *plainer*, and *clearer*; and a *paſſage, or two*, which however capable of a *juſt Defence*, yet in many Caſes ſeem *harſh* to *ſome* even of our *Own Communion*, had either been wholly *left at liberty*, in ſuch Caſes, to be *Omitted* altogether; Or been ſo qualified as to remove all Exception againſt Them in Any Caſe. If ſuch *Collects*, as are not yet adapted to the *Feſtivals*, or *Goſpels*, to which they belong; had been made more full, and appoſite to Both: If *ſome* of the *Occaſional Offices* had been *Enlarged*; and *New Ones Added*: If, for Example, there had been a greater Variety of *Prayers*, *Pſalms*, and *Leſſons* appointed by *Authority*, inſtead of the *Compoſitions* of *private Perſons*, now neceſſarily to be uſed, for the *Viſitation of the Sick*; and *New Forms* compoſed for the Uſe of *Priſoners* for *Debt* or *Crimes*: For the greater Solemnity of *Receiving Proſelytes* into *our Church*; Of *Reconciling Penitents* to it; and of *Caſting Notorious Offenders* out of it. Theſe were ſome of the main things that were then deſign'd: As for any *favour* to the *Diſſenters*, None, that I know of, was intended, but what ſhould have been intirely conſiſtent with our *Own Conſtitution*: And I hope it will not be thought any Crime for the *Biſhops*, and *Clergy* of our *Church*, to be willing to enlarge its *Communion*, by any *Methods* which may be likely to *Gain Others*, and yet not *injure* our *Own Eſtabliſhment*.

But to ſatisfie your *Lordſhips* that nothing could have been deſigned to the *Detriment* of the *Church*; Be pleaſed farther to conſider, how what was thus at firſt projected in private, by ſelect Perſons, and in a difficult time, when no countenance was to be expected from Authority to any ſuch purpoſe; was afterwards, if ever, to have been brought to Maturity. And this being a matter of *Publick Notice*, the relation of it will admit of no Exception.

No ſooner were their late Majeſties, of Glorious Memory, ſeated in their Thrones, but this Deſign was openly Eſpouſed by them. A *Commiſſion* was iſſued out, under *the Great Seal of England*, to a large number of *Biſhops*, and other *Eminent Divines*, to meet together, and to conſider of theſe Matters. What they did, having not had the Honour to be one of them, I

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* Dr. *Patrick* Biſhop of *Ely*.

† The Archbiſhop of *York* and Biſhop of *Ely*.

* A Letter to a Member of Parliament in favour of the Bill for *Uniting Proteſtants*: Licenſed by the Command of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*: *April* 1. 1689. *Ja. Vernon*. Pag. 2.

ſhall

ſhall not preſume to ſay. This we know, that whatever they did, it was to have been carried on from Them to the *two Convocations* of *Canterbury* and *York*: And after it ſhould have paſs'd their Approbations, it was finally to have been laid before the *two Houſes of Parliament*, and ſo to have gone on to the *Royal Aſſent*. This, my *Lords*, was the Courſe thro' which all that was deſigned, or ſhould have been done in this matter, muſt have paſs'd; and I am perſwaded nothing very injurious to our *Churches* Welfare, will ever be able to paſs thro' all theſe.

Having thus given your *Lordſhips* a true account, of that *Deſign* which Dr. *S.* mentions under the name of *Comprehenſion*; I doubt not but that your *Lordſhips* will now be amazed to hear, what a falſe and ſcandalous Report he has made of it. In the 16*th* Page of his *Sermon*, he thus ſpeaks of it: "*The worſt Adverſaries of our Church*," ſays he, "were to be let into her Bowels under "the Holy Umbrage of *Sons*; who neither BELIEVED her FAITH; OWN'D her MISSION; "SUBMITTED to her DISCIPLINE; or COMPLIED with her LITURGY. For the ad-"mitting of this *Trojan Horſe*, big with *Arms* and *Ruin*, into our *Holy City*, the *Straight* "*Gate* was to be laid *quite open*; Her *Walls* and *Encloſures* to be *pull'd down*; and a *High-*"*road* made in upon Her *Communion*. Her *Articles* to be taught the *Confuſion* of all *Senſes*, *Na-*"*tions*, and *Languages*.

This, my *Lords*, is a very ſtrange Repreſentation of ſo *Good* a *Deſign*, as that I before recounted to your *Lordſhips*. Yet this Repreſentation did this bold Man, as confidently, as falſly, make of it in the *Houſe of God*; and publiſh to the View of the whole *Nation*. For thus he goes on: "This pious deſign of making our *Houſe of Prayer* a *Den of Thieves*, of *Reforming* our "*Church* into a *Chaos*; is well known to have been *attempted ſeveral times* in *this Kingdom*, and "LATELY WITHIN OUR MEMORY; when All things ſeem'd to favour it but that *Good* "*Providence* which ſo happily interpoſed againſt the *Ruin of our Church*, and blaſted the long "projected Scheme of THESE ECCLESIASTICAL *ACHITOPHELS*". To ſay nothing more of the *Deſign* it ſelf, of which I have given an Account before. Pray, my *Lords*, who were the *ACHITOPHELS* that projected it; and muſt have concurr'd to the Execution of it? I have already named the Firſt, and Chiefeſt of them, the late *Archbiſhop SANCROFT*. The next who openly approved of it, were the *Commiſſioners* who met upon it in the *Jeruſalem Chamber*: A Set of Men, than which this *Church* was never, at any one time, bleſs'd with either wiſer, or better, ſince it was a *Church*: * Who it was that *Preſided* in the *Convocation* of this *Province*, to which this *Project* was next to be referr'd; and who, had it gone on, muſt have had a chief hand in the Menagement of it, I need not ſay. Every One who knows any thing at all of his *Character*; (and I am ſure your *Lordſhips* are none of you Strangers to it) knows him to be too good a Friend to the *Eſtabliſhment* of our *Church*, to have been capable of being engaged in ſuch a *Villainous Deſign*, as Dr. *S.* pretends, for the Subverſion of it. Or had He been otherwiſe, yet ſtill the Major part of that Venerable Body muſt have been as great *Achitophels* as himſelf, or no Harm could have been done by Him. Pardon me, my *Lords*, if the Courſe of my Argument obliges me to riſe yet one Degree higher, and to ſay that the like *Majority* of your *Lordſhips*, and of the *Houſe of Commons*, together with his late *Majeſty*, muſt All have come into the *Plot* againſt the *Church*; or all the Skill, and Malice, of the *Inferior Achitophels*, would have ſignified nothing. And what Cenſure that Man deſerves who has the Confidence to inſinuate to the World, that the *Biſhops*, the other *Clergy*, the *Convocations*; the *Parliament*, nay, and the late *King* himſelf, our Glorious Deliverer; Or at leaſt the greater part of all theſe, were engaged in a Project "*ſo Monſtrous, ſo Romantic, and Abſurd*, (for here I am content to uſe his own Expreſſions) "*that it is hard to ſay whether it had more of* Villany, *or* Folly, "*in it*," I ſhall ſubmit it to your *Lordſhips* to conſider. All I deſign in taking notice of this *part* of his *Sermon*, is only to clear the Memory of many excellent *Perſons who are dead*; and to vindicate the Reputation of ſome ſtill *living*, and in the *higheſt Stations* of the *Church*; from that Load of Infamy which this Raſh Man has with ſo much Virulence of Speech caſt upon them: And to let your *Lordſhips* ſee that nothing was intended in all that Affair but what was both Honourable to thoſe who engaged in it; and I am perſwaded would have been for the Intereſt and Peace of our Church and State, had it been accompliſh'd.

I come now to that which is the proper Subject of the preſent Debate; namely to offer ſuch Paſſages to your *Lordſhips*, as I humbly conceive do plainly and fully, make out the *Second Article* of the *Commons Impeachment* againſt the *Preacher*; and prove him to have ſpoken with more freedom than he ought, not only of the *Diſſenters themſelves*, but of the *Toleration*, or (as he had rather we ſhould call it) the *Indulgence* granted by *Law* to them.

And here, as I remember, it was not deny'd either by His *Council*, or *Himſelf*, but that he had ſpoken, and ſpoken with warmth too, againſt *Toleration*. The only Queſtion is, What the *Toleration* is againſt which he ſpake? Whether it was that which has been granted, by *Law* to the *Diſſenters*? Or whether it was only againſt a *General Toleration* of *Atheiſts*, *Deiſts*, *Socinians*; Men of no *Principles*, perhaps of no *Religion*? Or at moſt againſt ſuch of the *Diſſenters* as *Abuſed* the *Indulgence* granted them by *Law*; and made uſe of it to Purpoſes not at all warranted by it? The former of theſe the *Commons* charge upon him: The latter He pretends; the better to clear himſelf of their Charge.

To determine this Point, I muſt in the firſt place beg leave to obſerve, that among the ſeveral ſorts of *Falſe-Brethren*, enumerated by the *Preacher* with relation to *God*, *Religion*, or the *Church*; the *Second kind* is of thoſe, *who give up any Point of the Churches* Diſcipline, and Worſhip. *Page* 8. To this he adds, that *thoſe are* Falſe-Brethren *who defend* Toleration, *and* Liberty of Conſcience. And that we may the better know what *Toleration*, and *Liberty* of Conſcience, *He means*; He ſpecifies the very *Perſons* to whom He refers, and of whom He ſpeaks; *the* DISSENTERS: "*If*, ſays he, *to comply with the* DISSENTERS *both in publick and private Affairs*, *as Perſons of* "*tender Conſcience and Piety*, *to promote* THEIR *Intereſts in Elections*; *to ſneak to* THEM *for* "*places and preferment*, *to defend* Toleration *and* Liberty of Conſcience, *and under the preſence of*

* The Lord Biſhop of *London*.

" Modera-

" Moderation, *Excuse* THEIR SEPARATION, *are the* Criterions *of a True* Church Man; *God* " *deliver Us All from such* False-Brethren." The *Toleration* therefore, and *Liberty of Conscience*, against which he speaks, must necessarily be that of the DISSENTERS; those who SEPARATE from our *Church*: He names no others; but carries the same Persons thro' his whole Sentence, both before and after those Expressions. Either therefore it is no Reflection upon the *Act of Indulgence* to say that all those who *defend* the *Toleration* of the *DISSENTERS*, and are for allowing *Liberty of Conscience* to THEM, are *false-Brethren with relation to God, Religion, or the Church*, Page 6, 7, and such against whom we ought to *pray to God to deliver Us All*, Page 8: Or if this cannot with any reason be either said, or supposed, then it must remain, that Dr. *S.* has here said what the *Commons* charge him withal; and that in express terms, *viz.* That He is *a false Brother who defends* the *Toleration*, not of *Deists*, *Socinians*, and I know not what Monsters of Irreligion, but of *the DISSENTERS*: Those same *Dissenters* who by the *Act of Indulgence* have a right to that *Liberty of Conscience* of which this Gent. speaks so very hardly; and prays God to *Defend Us from all such* False-Brethren *as shall presume to excuse it.*

But not to insist upon a *single Passage* which may be supposed to have dropt unwarily from him. In the *Second Part* of his *Sermon*, He proceeds to shew *the great Perils and Mischiefs of those* False-Brethren, against whom He was before speaking, both to *the Church and State*; *pag.* 15. And that These again are the same Persons who have a right to *the Legal Indulgence* is so very clear, that I do not see how it is possible for any one to make the least doubt of it. *Pag.* 18. He describes them as *Occasional Conformists to the Church*. Pag. 19. As *those who had the Old Leaven of their Fore-fathers still working in them*: And, in the next Sentence, He expressly takes notice of *the Religious Liberty which our Gracious Sovereign has INDULGED them*. This in the very same Sentence He calls THEIR TOLERATION; (for the Doctor himself is not tied up to any Niceties of Expression; He may call it so, tho' Others may not:) These are the *Persons*, and the *only Persons*, of whom he speaks in all that part of his *Discourse*; let us see what he says of the *Indulgence* granted by *Law* to them.

And first, he tells us, Page 18. " That *it cannot be deny'd, but that tho' they do* submit *to the* " Government, *their* Obedience *is* forced, *and* constrain'd; *and so* treacherous, *and* uncer- " tain, *as never to be* trusted. That *they are as much* Occasional Loyalists *to the* State, *as they* " *are* Occasional Conformists *to the* Church; *and will betray either whenever it is in their Power, and* " *they think it for their Advantage.* That *nothing but a* Scottish Infatuation *can so far blind our* " *Eyes* and *our Judgments, as to make Us believe that the same* Causes *should not produce the* " *same* Effects; *that the same* Latitudinarian *and* Republican Notions, *should not bring forth the* " *same* Rebellious *and* Pernicious Consequences. That *we shall be convinced to our Sorrow, if we* " *don't apprehend that the* * Old Leaven *of their* Fore-fathers *is still working in the* present Genera- " tion; and *that this* Traditional Poyson *still remains in this* brood of Vipers *to sting us to* " *Death.* That *they have advanced themselves from the RELIGIOUS LIBERTY which our* Gracious " Sovereign *has INDULGED* them, *to claim a* Civil Right; *and to* justle the Church *out* " *of* Her Establishment, *by hoisting THEIR TOLERATION into its Place.* That *to con-* " *vince us what alone will satisfie them, they insolently demand the* Repeal *of the* Corporation *and* " Test Acts, *which under* Her Majesty, *is the* only Security *the* Church *has to depend upon:* " *And which* (if we may believe Him,) *They have so far eluded by their abominable Hypocrisie, as to* " *have* undermin'd *her* Foundations, *and* indanger the Government, *by filling it with its* profes- " sed Enemies." His meaning is plainly this; that the *Dissenters*, whom we are so foolish as to *Indulge*, are a parcel of *False* and *Treacherous* Persons; *Enemies* both to *our Church* and *State*; and such as if not timely suppress'd, will convince us to our Sorrow of the weakness and folly, of taking such *Vipers* into our Bosom, as watch only for a fair Opportunity to *sting us to Death.*

But what then must we do to secure our selves against these *dangerous Enemies*? Why first, the Doctor assures us, that they are never to be gain'd by any favour that can be shew'd to them. * " That *He must be very* Weak, *or* something worse, *that* thinks, *or* pretends, *that the* " *DISSENTERS* (for of *These* he still speaks) *are to be won over by any other GRANTS and* " *INDULGENCES than giving up our WHOLE CONSTITUTION.*" This shews the folly of trying the soft way of *Indulgence* with them: And therefore he concludes; That " *He who* " *recedes the least tittle from it* (*our Constitution*) *to satisfie, or ingratiate with, these Clamorous,* " *Insatiable, Church-devouring Malignants, knows not what Spirit they are of; or he ought to shew* " *who is the true Member of our Church.*

This I think comes fully up to what is objected against Him; namely, that Doctor *S. does in his Sermon suggest and maintain*, " *that the* Toleration *granted by* Law *is* Unreasonable, " *and the Allowance of it* Unwarrantable. For so it must needs be, if the *Dissenters* be such *Men* as he tells us they *are*; and will be satisfy'd with nothing *less*, than he assures us they *will*. And yet what next follows, is, if possible, still more express to the same purpose. It is objected against him by the *Commons*, that He had affirm'd in his *Sermon*, That " Queen " *Elizabeth was deluded by* Arch-bishop *Grindal*, (*whom he scurrilously calls a* False-Son of the " Church, *and a* perfidious Prelate;) *to the* Toleration *of the* Genevian Discipline. The *Fact* is not denied; but the Expressions are excus'd; and the *Truth* of the *Allegation* is endeavoured to be made out by *Historical Memoirs*: And it is hoped that your *Lordships* will not account it a *High Crime* and *Misdemeanour*, to have spoken too hardly of a *Prelate* who has been so many Years in his Grave.

I am, my *Lords*, very far from thinking, that the *Commons* ever intended to charge Dr. *S.* as guilty of *High Crimes* and *Misdemeanours*, for speaking scandalously of *that Good Archbishop*. Their Concern was not for *His Person*, what respect soever they may have had (as all true Friends of the *Reformation* must needs have a very great One) for his Memory! But the Truth

* Serm. Page 19.

of the Matter is this. The *Preacher* complains Page 19. of his *Sermon*; that *Queen* Elizabeth *was deluded by Archbiſhop* Grindal, *to the* Toleration *of the* Genevian Diſcipline. "He adds, that "the Arch-biſhop *was a* perfidious Prelate, *for deluding her to Tolerate that* Diſcipline. That "*ſhe found it ſuch a Headſtrong and Encroaching* Monſter, *that in* Eight Years *ſhe ſaw it would* "*endanger* the Monarchy *as well as the* Hierarchy: *And like a* Queen *of* true Reſolution, *and* pious "Zeal *for* Both, *ſhe pronounced* that ſuch were the *reſtleſs Spirits of that* factious People*, *that* "*no quiet was to be expected from them, till they were UTTERLY SUPPRESS'D. That this* "*therefore like a prudent Princeſs, ſhe did by* wholeſome Severities; *and the Effect was, that by* "*this means the* Crown *for many Years ſate* eaſie *and* flouriſhing *on her* Head. *But that her* "Succeſſor, *King* James, *did not follow her* Wiſe Politicks: And the Reſult was as Deplo-rable on his Side, as it had been Glorious on Hers. For by this means, "His *Son* fell a *Mar-*"*tyr* to their *Fury*: His *unhappy Offspring, ſuffer'd ſuch* diſaſtrous Calamities, *as made the* Royal "Family *One continued Sacrifice to their Malice*". And all this for want of thoſe *wholeſome Severities* which the wiſe *Queen* his *Predeceſſor*, had Uſed *utterly to ſuppreſs* that *Factious People*.

This, my *Lords*, is the Doctor's *Narrative*, and I have given it you in his own Words. The *Application* is plain, and Home. The *Diſſenters* are now again *Tolerated*, as they were heretofore under Q. *Elizabeth*. There is a *perfidious Prelate* (perhaps in his Opinion a great many) who, like Arch-biſhop *Grindal*, help to delude another *Queen*, into the *Toleration* of them. Theſe EIGHT YEARS paſt (for the very number of Years is remarkable) Her Majeſty has born the *reſtleſs Spirits* of this *factious People*; and had no quiet from them. It is now high time for Her to alter Her Meaſures, as Queen *Elizabeth* wiſely did. It is the only way to make the *Crown* ſit *Eaſie*, and *Flouriſhing*, *upon her Head*. And if this be not plainly to ſpeak out what he would have done with the *Act of Indulgence*, I muſt deſpair of ever being able to know any Man's meaning by his Expreſſions. Such *Examples* are not only the moſt likely to inforce, but the moſt proper, and lively Methods to convey a Man's Senſe, even to the dulleſt Capacity; and make him clearly perceive if not what he ought, yet I am ſure what the Preacher would have him to do.

The truth is, ſo plain was his meaning, that He Himſelf began to fear that he had gone a little too far in what he had ſaid of this Matter. And, for that reaſon, He added that One, poor Sentence which immediately follows, and of which he has made ſuch good Uſe ſince: "*That He would not be Miſ-underſtood as if He intended to Caſt the leaſt Invidious* Reflection "*upon that* Indulgence *the* Government *had condeſcended to give them*, (the *Diſſenters*:)" But what then did He *intend* by all this bitter Invective againſt them; and that very *Inſtructive* piece of *Hiſtory* with which He concluded it? He "has told Us that the *Diſſenters* are *Falſe-Bre-*"*thren*; *Deſtructive both of our* Civil *and* Eccleſiaſtical Rights. *That they are* Occaſional "Loyaliſts *to the* State, *as well as* Occaſional Conformiſts *to the* Church; *and will betray* both, "*whenever they have it in their* Power, *and it ſhall be their* Intereſt, *to do it*. That *it muſt be* "*a Sottiſh* Infatuation *to believe that the ſame* Latitudinarian, *and* Republican Notions, *ſhould not* "*bring forth the ſame* Rebellious, *and* Pernicious Conſequences: That *we ſhall be convinc'd to* "*our Sorrow, if we do not apprehend that the Old* Leaven *of their* Fore-fathers, *is ſtill* work-"ing in *the* preſent Generation: *That they have already made dangerous* Encroachments *upon the* "Government; *and publiſh'd* Treaſonable Reflections *upon Her* Majeſty: That *they have advanc'd* "*their* Indulgence *into a* Civil Right, *and juſtled the* Church *out of Her* Eſtabliſhment, *by* "*hoiſting their Toleration into its place*: That *They have by their abominable Hypocriſie undermined* "*the* Foundation *of the* Church, *and endanger'd the* Government, *by filling it with its* profeſs'd Ene-"mies: That they *are* Clamorous, Inſatiable, Church-Devouring Malignants; *Whom no* "*other* Grants, *or* Indulgencies *can Win over but the giving up our whole* Conſtitution: That "*ever ſince their firſt unhappy Plantation in this Kingdom, they have* Improved, *and* Roſe *upon their* "Demands *in the* Permiſſion *of the* Government: That Queen *Elizabeth, who* Tolerated *them for* "*eight Years together, was forced at laſt to* ſuppreſs *Them by Wholeſome* Severities: That *this made* "*her Crown ſit Eaſie and* Flouriſhing *on her* Head; *whereas King* James *the firſt by not purſuing* "*the like Methods ruined the whole* Royal Family: *That nothing better could be expected from* "*ſuch* Miſcreants, begot in Rebellion, Born in Sedition and Nurſed up in Faction:" All this Dr. *S.* has ſaid in theſe very plain, and emphatical Words. If He did not *intend* by all this to ſhew the *Neceſſity* of *Suppreſſing* theſe *Factious People*, theſe *Vipers*, who are *juſt ready to ſting us all to death*, I would be glad to know what it was that He *did Intend* by it? Could He ſay all this, and with ſuch a ſingular ſtrain of impetuous Eloquence, and yet "not *intend* "*to caſt ſo much as the leaſt* invidious Reflections *upon that* Indulgence *which the Government* "*has thought fit to give them*? I muſt freely own, my *Lords* I could never have imagined this: Nay I muſt be excuſed if I add, That notwithſtanding this poor Evaſion, I cannot yet believe it. But the *Act of Indulgence* ſtood in his way: That *Act* the *Queen* had declared her *Reſolution* to maintain: Your *Lordſhips* and the *Commons* had often ſhewn Your Steddineſs to the ſame Effect. Even Thoſe who preſs'd ſo violently againſt *Occaſional Communion*, yet thought it neceſſary to ſay, in the very *Preamble* of that *Bill*, that the *Act of Indulgence* ought *inviolably to be Obſerved*: And therefore Dr. *S.* thought it needful to add ſomewhat that He knew would not take off any thing from the force of his *Invective*; yet might ſerve to excuſe the Severity of it; and be made uſe of to the purpoſe it now is, if He ſhould chance to be call'd to Account for it. This, my *Lords*, I conceive to be the true meaning of that *one ſingle Paſſage*, ſo utterly *repugnant* to all the reſt of his *Diſcourſe*: Nor can I put any other Interpretation upon it. For had I the ſame Opinion of theſe *Men*, their *Principles*, and their *Deſigns*, that Dr. *S.* has; I ſhould be ſo far from thinking them fit to be *Indulged*, that I ſhould account it my *Duty*, and the *Duty* of every true Friend to our *Church* and *Government*; to take the ſame Methods of *Wholeſome Severities* with them that Queen *Elizabeth* did: And I hope by

* Serm. Page 20.

Grace that should I be questioned for it, I should not dissemble my Opinion; but should have the Courage honestly to own it, whatever I might chance to suffer for it.

I have, my *Lords*, insisted the longer upon this part of the *Doctor's Sermon*, because I would not willingly fall under the Censure of picking out *dis-jointed Sentences*, and putting them together from *distant Places*, that so I might the better draw a *Sense* out of them, contrary to *his meaning*. I shall trouble your *Lordships* but with one part more of it, to the same Effect; *Pag.* 24, 25. Where he comes to consider, *What should be the Result of his long Discourse?* I shall read it to your *Lordships* in his *own Words*, *Pag.* 25. "Let us therefore (says he) as we are unhappy Sharers of St. *Paul's* Misfortune, to have our Church in *Perils amongst False-Brethren*, follow his Example, and Conduct in a Parallel Case. He tells us in his *Epistle* to the *Galatians*, c. 2. That he was obstructed, and pester'd in preaching the *Gospel*, by *False-Brethren unawares brought in, who came privily to spy out his Liberty which he had in Christ Jesus*, that *they might bring him into Bondage. To whom he gave place by Subjection, no not for an Hour, that the truth of the Gospel might continue with the Church.* Doubtless this brave and bold Resolution, did the Apostle take by the peculiar Command, and Inspiration, of the *Holy Ghost*. And yet if OUR DISSENTERS had lived in those times, they would have branded him as an *Intemperate*, *Hot*, *Furious Zealot*; that wanted to be sweetned by the gentle Spirit of *Charity*, and *Moderation* forsooth.

Here we have again the *Persons* of whom the Preacher speaks: They are OUR DISSENTERS; not the *Deists*, *Atheists*, *Socinians*, *Hypocrites*, of our times. And accordingly, what follows, plainly refers to them: For thus he goes on, "Schism and Faction are Things "of Impudent and Incroaching Natures: Take *Permissions* for *Power*; and advance a TOLE-"RATION, (for so the Doctor is still at Liberty to call, what we must stile INDUL-"GENCE) immediately into an *Establishment*." Your *Lordships* will please to observe, by the way, that this was the very thing he had before said of these same Persons, *Pag.* 19; and thereby plainly shews, that he speaks in both Places of those DISSENTERS who have a right to the TOLERATION, or INDULGENCE, granted by *Law* to *Protestant Dissenters*. Let us now hear what he would have done with *them*. Why he would have them "treated like *Growing Mischiefs*; or *Infectious Plagues*; kept at a distance, least their deadly *Contagion* spread." And the Method he proposes in order thereunto, is this, "Let us therefore, says he, *have* "*no Fellowship* with THESE WORKS *of Darkness*; but *rather reprove them*." THESE WORKS, *Schism* and *Faction*; For of *these*, and *These only*, He here speaks. This is the *Peoples* part; and the *Inferiour Pastors*: "As for the *Superiour Pastors*, *let them do their Duty*, *in thundering out* "*their Ecclesiastical Anathema's* against THEM. Against *Whom*, my *Lords*? *What Works of Darkness*? Still the same he before mention'd: OUR DISSENTERS, Those are the *Persons*: Their *Schism* and *Faction*; Those are the *Works of Darkness* to which he refers. "And let any *Power* "*on Earth* dare reverse a *Sentence* ratify'd *in Heaven*."

This, my *Lords*, was the last part of the *Commons Impeachment* upon this *Second Article*: And 'tis so plainly expressed by the *Preacher* in this Passage, that I confess it amazes me to consider with what Positiveness He has thought fit to deny that any such thing was meant by Him. The Persons whom the *Superiour Pastors* are summon'd to *Anathematize*, are the same with those, whom the *Other Pastors* and *People*, are to have *no Fellowship* withal, but to *Reprove*. These, by the necessary connexion of his Discourse, are OUR DISSENTERS; whose *Works of Darkness*, He states to be *Schism*, and *Faction*: Those *Dissenters* to whom the *Government* hath granted a TOLERATION; as himself, in the same Passage takes notice. Which being so; I shall leave the Doctor to *Deny*, and *Protest*, as He pleases; but when all is done, His *Own Words* will rise up against Him, and appear to every impartial Person so plain, and positive, as to put it beyond the Power of any artificial Interpretation to perplex the meaning of them.

And this lets us into the true Application of those Passages of *Scripture*, with which He concludes his whole Discourse. In which, having shewn the Danger of our *Church* from these *False-Brethren*, and exhorted his Auditory to a steddy Courage and Resolution in the Defence of it; He thus at once both inforces his Doctrine, and abuses his Adversaries. That *tho' the Church* (for to That He applies, what † *Zechariah* spake of the *False-Prophets* that seduced the People) *lies bleeding of the Wounds which she has received in the House of her Friends*; A Passage first thrown at my * self, for Defending the *Princes Authority*, when some of These very Men engaged as vehemently on the side of *Liberty*, against the *Rights of the Crown*, as they now pretend to stand up vigorously for it; ‖ *Tho' the Ways of Zion may mourn* FOR A TIME (so the Doctor Glosses upon the *Text*) *and Her Gates be desolate*; *Her Priests sigh*; and she in bitterness, BECAUSE (it is the *Preacher's* Reason, the *Text* has no such Word) *Her Adversaries are Chief*; He means, in the *Administration* under her Majesty; *and Her Enemies* AT PRESENT prosper; (so he again improves the *Text*; in hopes, I suppose, that it will not be long before He shall have Preach'd them out of their Places:) * *Tho' among all her Lovers she has* FEW, (the *Prophet* complained that *Jerusalem* had NONE) *to Comfort Her*; and MANY (*Jeremiah* said ALL) *have dealt treacherously with her, and are become her Enemies*; (He refers to Those of whom he had before spoken *Pag.* 22.) † *Tho' there are* FEW *to guide Her among all the Sons which she hath brought forth*; *neither are there* MANY *to take her by the Hand of all the Sons that she hath brought up*; (*Isaiah* in both places, says NONE:) *Tho' her Enemies cry down with Her, down with Her, even to the Ground*: That is, in other Words, tho' (the *Preacher*, and a few of his *Friends* excepted) both the *Fathers* and *Pastors* of the *Church*; and the *Men* who are AT PRESENT in *Power*, and *Authority*, in the *State*, are become *False-Brethren*, and

† *Zech.* xiii. 6.
‖ *Lament.* i. 4, 5.
* See Dr. A's Rights of an English Convocation; Title Page.
* *Lament.* i. 2.
† *Isaiah* li. 18.

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run in with those Enemies of the *Church*, OUR DISSENTERS, against it; "*Yet there is a God that can, and will raise Her up, if We forsake Her not.*"

It were an eaſie matter to make many proper Remarks upon theſe *Paſſages of Scripture*, thus applied, or rather *abuſed*, by the *Preacher*: But that would be beſides my preſent Buſineſs, and will fall in more properly under the *laſt Article of this Impeachment*. It is enough that I have, I hope, fully ſhewn your *Lordſhips* how Dr. *S.* has treated if not the *Indulgence* it ſelf, yet I am ſure, *Thoſe who are entitled to the Benefit of it*: And who if they ſhall have the Misfortune, by this kind of *Preaching*, to be once generally thought ſuch wicked, falſe, and Dangerous Enemies to our *Church* and *State* as they are here repreſented, I cannot think that their *Indulgence* will hold long. If they have Numbers to ſecure them, it is well for them: But otherwiſe I am ſure as the Caſe is here ſtated, it muſt be our *Wiſdom*, as well as *Duty*, to ſuppreſs them.

How Criminal ſuch an *Invective* as this will be accounted in the Eye of the Law, I dare not preſume to ſuggeſt: Much leſs ſhall I pretend to intimate what Cenſure it may deſerve. Somewhat I think ſhould be done to put a ſtop to ſuch Preaching, as if not timely corrected may kindle ſuch *Heats* and *Animoſities* among us, as may truly endanger both our *Church* and *State*. As for the *Preacher* Himſelf; I am very willing to come into any Meaſures of Favour to Him, that are Conſiſtent with your *Lordſhips* Honour and Juſtice, and will anſwer the *Ends* of the *Impeachment* that has been brought before Us againſt Him.

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THE Bishop of Norwich's SPEECH

In the *House of Lords*, &c.

My LORDS,

I Am very sensible under what Disadvantage in the Opinion of many, a Bishop must speak against a Clergyman that stands accused of Crimes committed by him in the seeming Execution of his Office; especially after having been so publickly required to be an Advocate as well as a Judge. And I am the more sensible of this prejudice lying against me, for having been so lately called into that Order, and for being so unworthy of it.

But I think my self obliged notwithstanding, under all these Disadvantages to deliver not only my Judgment, but also the Reasons that determine me to it: which I shall do as plainly as I can; with that deference to your Lordships, which I am sure it must upon all Occasions particularly become me to pay; and at the same time with that Freedom which I think the Importance of this cause do's at this time require.

Dr. *Sacheverell* stands impeached by the Commons of *Great-Britain*, of High Crimes and Misdemeanours expressed in the several Articles of the Charge exhibited against him: And Your Lordships have heard what they have said in support of that Charge, as well as what has been offer'd in the Doctor's Defence.

Your Lordships have also debated among your selves the Merits of the Cause as to the first of these Articles; and have come to a Resolution, that the Commons have made good that part of their Charge: In which Resolution as I did heartily concur; so I was ready to have humbly represented to your Lordships my Reasons for so doing, had there been either room or occasion for it.

Your Lordships are now upon the *Second Article*; wherein the Doctor is charged for *suggesting and maintaining that the Toleration granted by Law, is unreasonable, and the Allowance of it unwarrantable*; with other particulars that have immediate relation to this general Charge, and which are indeed so many proofs of it.

In this view therefore, my Lords, I beg leave to consider them; And the *First* of these Instances, in Support of this Charge, is, that he asserts that *He is a False Brother with relation to God, Religion, or the Church, who defends Toleration and Liberty of Conscience*; and this, my Lords, the Doctor do's assert in so many words. It is *one* of the *many* Marks he gives whereby we may discern who is a false Brother in those respects; not a *small part* of *one general Mark*, as was alledged very inconclusively, I think, in his Defence. For if it was to be granted, (tho' it cannot be fairly pretended) that the Doctor makes the defending of Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, one Branch only of the Character of a false Brother; I do not see how it cou'd make even a part of that Character, if there was no false Brotherhood in it. And I shall not trouble my self or your Lordships with going about to settle the degrees of false Brotherhood that are in this part of the Character, because I think every degree of it is unreasonable and not to be warranted.

And therefore the Doctor cannot make it so much as a part of the Character of a false Brother to defend Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, as it is confess'd that he do's, but he must at the same time *suggest and maintain that the Toleration is unreasonable, and the Allowance of it unwarrantable*. For it can never be Any degree of false Brotherhood, to defend what is reasonable and warrantable: Nor wou'd even the Doctor, as inconsistent a Man as several of the Noble Lords that have spoken for him represent him to be, ever have made it one; if he had not himself condemn'd that which he blames others for defending.

The *Second Instance* alledg'd is, that *he calls Archbishop* Grindal *a False Son of the Church, and a perfidious Prelate, for deluding Queen* Elizabeth *into the Toleration of the* Genevian *Discipline*. I shall not, my Lords, go about to add any thing to the full and just Vindication you have heard of that Excellent Prelate. But can any of your Lordships believe, that a Presbyter of the *Church* of *England*, professing more than ordinary Zeal for Episcopacy and the Constitution of this Church, shou'd bestow such Language on one who was the first Bishop and the Ornament of it so long; only for disposing that Glorious Queen to a mild Treatment of the Puritans of that time, which is the utmost that is pretended to be laid to his Charge, if he had thought Toleration a reasonable thing, or what was fit to be established by Law? This,

This, my Lords, I confeſs can never enter into my thoughts, as ready as I am to enlarge them for the admitting of any favourable Conſtruction that will not ſhut out common Senſe.

The *Third Inſtance is his making it the Duty of the Superior Paſtors to thunder out their Eccleſiaſtical Anathema's againſt Perſons entitl'd to the Benefits of the Toleration.* And to ſhew that he has done this, I need only refer your Lordſhips to that part of his Sermon where the Superior Paſtors are call'd upon to do ſo; *(viz.)* the Fourth and laſt General Head, where he draws the Conſequence of all that he had ſpoken before, in the following words. * " Now what ſhould be the Reſult " of this long Diſcourſe, but that if we bear any true Concern for the Intereſt, Honour, and " Safety of our Church and Government, we ought ſtedfaſtly to adhere to thoſe Fundamental " Principles, upon which Both are Founded, and upon which their Security under God alone " depends; and conſequently that it highly behoves us, cautiouſly to Watch againſt, to Mark, " and Avoid All thoſe that thus Treacherouſly deſert them. And indeed it wou'd be both for " our Advantage, as well as their Credit, if ſuch Men wou'd throw off the Maſk, entirely " quit our Church of which they are no True Members, and not fraudulently eat her " Bread, and lay wait for her Ruin, purloin her Revenues, and ungratefully lift up their Heels " againſt Her. For then we ſhould be one Fold under one Shepherd; all thoſe Invidious Di- " ſtinctions, that now Diſtract and Confound us, loſt; and we ſhou'd be terrible like an Ar- " my of Banners to our Enemies; who cou'd never break in upon ſuch an Uniform and Well " compacted Body. This indeed wou'd be a True Peace, and Solid Union, when we ſhou'd " all with one Mind and one Mouth glorifie God, and not with a confus'd diverſity of Con- " tradictious Opinions, and inconſiſtent Jargon of Worſhip, which the God of Peace, Purity, " and Order cannot but abhor. As it is a Maxim in Politicks, that all Governments are beſt " ſupported by the ſame Methods and Councils upon which they are founded; ſo it will ap- " pear undeniably True in its Application to our Conſtitution, which can be Maintain'd by " no other Principles, but thoſe on which it is built, and like their Baſis, the Goſpel, if there's " any Violation, or Breach made in any Branch of it, it ſhakes and endangers the whole " Frame and Body. Theſe things however little they may be repreſented by our Adverſaries, " will be found of the moſt conſiderable Conſequence. Let us therefore, as we are unhappy " Sharers of St. *Paul*'s Misfortune, to have our Church in Perils among Falſe Brethren, fol- " low his Example and Conduct in a parallel Caſe. He tells us in his Epiſtle to the *Gala- " tians*, c. 2. That he was obſtructed and peſter'd in his preaching the Goſpel, by FALSE " BRETHREN unawares brought in, who came privily to ſpy out his Liberty, which he had " in Chriſt Jeſus, that they might bring him into Bondage: To whom he gave place by Sub- " jection, no not for an Hour, that the Truth of the Goſpel might continue with the Church. " Doubtleſs this brave and bold Reſolution did the Apoſtle take by the peculiar Command, " and Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt; and yet if our *Diſſenters* had liv'd in thoſe Times, they " wou'd have branded Him, as an Intemperate, Hot, Furious Zealot, that wanted to be ſweet- " en'd by the gentle Spirit of Charity and Moderation forſooth. Schiſm, and Faction, are " things of impudent and incroaching Natures, they thrive upon Conceſſions, take Per- " miſſion for Power, and advance a *Toleration* immediately *into an Eſtabliſhment*. And are " therefore to be treated like growing Miſchiefs, or infectious Plagues, kept at a diſtance, leſt " their deadly Contagion ſpreads. Let us therefore have no Fellowſhip with *thoſe* Works of " Darkneſs, but rather reprove them. Let our Superior Paſtors do their Duty in thundring " out their Eccleſiaſtical Anathema's, and let any Power on Earth dare reverſe a Sentence " ratify'd in Heaven.

Can any thing, my Lords, be plainer than that the Diſſenters, and they only, are here ſpoken of; And what does the Doctor ſay in his own defence, to avoid it? His Words in his printed Speech are theſe:

" Schiſmaticks, my Lords, are not the only Perſons againſt whom Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures " may be denounced: The Works of Darkneſs which I referr'd to as fit to be reproved, in that " part of my Sermon where I ſpeak of theſe Cenſures, are of the ſame kind with thoſe " mentioned by the Apoſtle, whoſe Words I produc'd; All Lewd and Immoral Practi- " ces, *&c.*

It is very true, my Lords, Schiſmaticks are not the only Perſons againſt whom Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures may be denounced, but I muſt ſtill ſay they are the only Perſons referr'd to, in the Paragraph I have read to your Lordſhips; and therefore I own I am a good deal concern'd, to find the Doctor making ſo vain, ſo unſincere a Defence. For it is not Works of Darkneſs in general he is cautioning againſt, but expreſly, by a Word of his own inſerting, not the Apoſtle's, *thoſe* Works of Darkneſs mentioned immediately before; *Schiſm* and *Faction*, which with him go always together.

Theſe are the Sins againſt which he calls upon his Superiour Paſtors to thunder out their Eccleſiaſtical *Anathema's*; nor can the Charge be avoided by that Diſtinction which was offer'd " in his behalf, between a Cenſure purely Spiritual, and an Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure. For ad- mitting there is ground for that Diſtinction in a Scholaſtical Conſideration of the general Que- ſtion of Chriſtian Cenſures; yet there is no room to make uſe of it in this caſe, becauſe he calls expreſsly for *Eccleſiaſtical Anathema's*, which can be apply'd to none but ſuch as are part of the Order and Diſcipline of this Church.

And it is certain my Lords that theſe Cenſures cannot, ſince the Act of Toleration, be inflict- ed upon Diſſenters, how much ſo ever their Schiſm remains; becauſe it is expreſsly provided by an Act of Parliament, (an Act, my Lords, of the whole Chriſtian Society, to which the Superior Paſtors were perſonally concurring,) that they ſhall not be treated as Schiſmaticks in the way of thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, to which their Separation would otherwiſe have certainly ſubjected them.

* *Vide* Serm. p. 22. l. 4.

And

And tho' I cannot undertake upon Memory to be very particular, yet I dare venture to ſay, there have anciently been Relaxations of the Diſcipline of the Church, even when the Crime was thought to deſerve the Continuance of it; for Publick Expedience, and better preſerving the Peace of the Chriſtian World: And that in ſuch Caſes any Presbyter or Biſhop wou'd himſelf have been cenſured, if he had not acquieſced in ſuch Relaxations.

My Lords, a Presbyter of the Church of *England*, is the more obliged to acquieſce in all ſuch Relaxations amongſt us as are legally made, becauſe he has ſolemnly promiſed at his Ordination, that *he will give his Faithful Diligence always ſo to miniſter the Doctrine and Sacraments and the Diſcipline of Chriſt, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church and* REALM *hath received the ſame.*

I have already obſerved to your Lordſhips, how the Diſcipline of the Church ſtands at preſent as to the Point in queſtion. And as the Relaxation of it in that particular, was agreeable to that Temper which the Biſhops who petitioned King *James*, gave the Diſſenters ground to expect: So I am verily perſwaded that the Church is ſo far from having been hurt by this Indulgence, that it has received Advantage as well as Credit, from that Moderation which gave way to it. I cou'd give ſeveral Inſtances of this within my own Obſervation, while I was Arch-Deacon, under a Reverend Prelate that ſits now before me; and ſince I have had the Honour to be on this Bench: In which Compaſs of time ſeveral Men of Sobriety and Learning bred up to be Miniſters amongſt the Diſſenters, have left the Separation, and upon due Tryal have been admitted to Orders in our Church; in which they have officiated with entire Conformity to our Rules, and to the Honour of our holy Religion.

Theſe Inſtances have been ſo frequent and Remarkable, ſince the Diſſenters have been exempted from the Penalties of certain Laws, above what had been obſerv'd before; that I think it very ill becomes any Clergyman to preach againſt that Exemption, as the Doctor (notwithſtanding his Reſerve for *Conſciences truly ſcrupulous*) has done; and to call upon his Superiours to act in contradiction to it. He ſhou'd have forbore doing this, at leaſt out of regard to her Majeſty, who had been graciouſly pleas'd to declare from the Throne, that ſhe wou'd preſerve the Toleration inviolable: A Reſolution I ſhall ever think it my Duty upon all proper Occaſions to expreſs my Approbation of, as Juſt and Wiſe and Charitable, and every way agreeable to the Spirit and Genius of the Chriſtian Religion.

I ſhall not, my Lords, enter into the Enquiry of what Sentences are ratify'd in Heaven: But as one may venture to ſay, that all that have been pronounced on Earth, are not ratify'd there; ſo by all I have ſeen of the Doctor's Spirit in theſe Matters, I have great reaſon to fear, that if the Power of the Keys was in his Hands, it would often be very ſadly abuſed.

However he has ſo good an Opinion of his own Spirit, as to put his Superiours in mind of another Part of their Duty, immediately after that I have mention'd; and that is, to *promote Men of Probity, Conſcience and Courage*, without which he thinks they cannot be fit Members of the Church Militant, in which I can as little agree with him as in the former demand. For if I may Judge of the Probity, Conſcience, and Courage he thinks ſo deſerving, by what appears in his Sermon, compar'd with his Speech to Your Lordſhips; I cannot think them Qualifications for a Miniſter of the Church of Chriſt in any reſpect; and I hope I ſhall be ſo happy as to find all the Reverend Prelates with whom I have the honour to ſit, agreeing with me in this.

But tho' I hope ſuch a Conduct will never recommend any Perſon to favour; yet I do not deſire that even that which I heartily blame, ſhou'd be puniſhed ſo much as I think it deſerves. And tho' He who pleads ſo warmly for *wholeſome Severities* toward thoſe who differ from him, has the leaſt Title to Your Lordſhips Compaſſion; Yet I hope he will find it as far as the juſt Concern you have for the Publick Tranquillity will allow you to ſhew it.

This I ſay from that which I bleſs God is the natural Temper of my Mind, and not from the Care that has been taken by ſome to intimidate as far as they cou'd, thoſe who were to have the Cognizance of the Doctor's Cauſe, and were not thought to be favourable to it.

I ſhall not take upon me to charge the Doctor or any of his particular Friends with this Practice, as great a Temptation as one is under to do ſo from ſeveral Circumſtances. And it is not the leaſt, that occurs in his Prayers, which he has publiſh'd upon this Occaſion, to repreſent not ſo much to God as to the World, that he is under Perſecution, when he is proſecuted for offending againſt the Law, by thoſe who in common Juſtice ought to be thought the faireſt Accuſers; and before Your Lordſhips, who are juſtly acknowledged to be the moſt impartial Judges.

However I will never believe, till I cannot avoid it; that any Members of the Church of *England* who have acknowledged the Government, much leſs any Clergy-man who has ſo often profeſs'd his Obedience to it in Church and State, ſhou'd have been any way acceſſory to thoſe threatnings that have been given out, particularly againſt ſuch Biſhops as ſhould happen to condemn the Doctor's Proceedings.

As far, My Lords, as I have ſeen of this Cauſe, I am likely to be one of thoſe Biſhops; and tho' I do not pretend to any great ſhare of Courage, I am very free to declare to Your Lordſhips that I am in no Compariſon ſo apprehenſive of what may befal my ſelf for condemning this Perſon, as I am of what will probably befal the Publick if Your Lordſhips ſhou'd not condemn him.

But that is in your Lordſhip's Judgment, to which I humbly ſubmit it: And only beg Pardon for having detain'd Your Lordſhips ſo long in giving my reaſons why I think the Commons have made good this Second Part of their Charge.

FINIS.

B L